

Message Text

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FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: BRITISH PRESS EDITORIALS, JANUARY 25

1. NOT SURPRISINGLY, BRITAIN'S MAJOR NEWSPAPERS
JANUARY 25 CARRIED EXTENSIVE COMMENT ON THE APPARENT
COLLAPSE OF THE RICHARD MISSION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE
QUOTE BELOW EDITORIALS FROM THE FINANCIAL TIMES, THE
GUARDIAN, THE TIMES AND THE DAILY TELEGRAPH.

2. THE GUARDIAN EDITORIAL: "MR. IAN SMITH IS DETERMINED
YET AGAIN TO GO HIS OWN WAY AND DO HIS OWN DEAL. EVEN IF
IT WERE A GOOD WAY AND FAIR DEAL, AS HE PROMISED IN HIS
BROADCAST LAST NIGHT, IT COULD NOT SAVE HIS COUNTRY FROM
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FURTHER CONFLICT. WITHOUT BISHOP MUZOREWA'S COOPERATION
AN AGREEMENT WITH AFRICANS OF HIS OWN CHOOSING WOULD MEAN
NOTHING TO ANYBODY. WITH THAT COOPERATION THE OTHER AND
VERY POWERFUL WING OF NATIONALISM, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT,
WOULD BE AT BEST A NOMINAL PARTNER AND AT WORST EXCLUDED.
IN EITHER CASE THE GUERRILLA ARMY WHICH HAS DICTATED MUCH
OF RHODESIA'S RECENT EVOLUTION WOULD STAY IN BEING TO

HARASS THE RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES ACROSS THEIR LONG FRONTIER. MR. SMITH AND HIS COLLEAGUES MUST HAVE CALCULATED THIS AND DECIDED TO GO DOWN FIGHTING. IT MAY BE MAUDLIN OR IT MAY BE BRAVE BUT FOR THE FUTURE OF RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE IT LOOKS, ONCE AGAIN, DISASTROUS.

THE NEW BRITISH PLAN PUT TO MR. SMITH, AND REJECTED BY HIM EVEN AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION, DEPARTS A LITTLE FROM THE LETTER OF THE KISSINGER FORMULA BUT FROM THE SPIRIT NOT AT ALL. IF KISSINGER WAS ACCEPTABLE NOTHING IN RICHARD CAN JUSTIFY A TOTAL CHANGE OF MIND. THE CHANGES WERE MADE AFTER THE EXPERIENCE OF GENEVA AND WITH THE AIM OF SECURING THE OBJECTS TO WHICH MR. SMITH AGREED IN HIS BROADCAST OF SEPTEMBER 24: THAT IS, AN INTERIM REGIME OF BOTH RACES, ELECTIONS, AND THEN INDEPENDENCE. THE MAJOR DIFFERENCE IS THAT, UNDER RICHARD, BRITAIN WOULD HAVE TAKEN THE CHAIR INSTEAD OF A WHITE RHODESIAN. TO MANY, THIS PAPER INCLUDED, THIS REINVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF RHODESIA, WITHOUT ANY SUASION OTHER THAN MORAL, SEEMED VERY HAZARDOUS; BUT IF THAT WAS THE ONLY WAY TO SEE ZIMBABWE THROUGH TO RECOGNIZED INDEPENDENCE, AND PREFERABLY IN PEACE, THEN IT WAS WORTH TAKING THE RISK. MR. SMITH EVIDENTLY DID NOT SEE IT THAT WAY. HE REPUDIATED BRITISH INTERVENTION AS OF MALIGN INTENT. YET SOME BRITISH SPONSORSHIP FOR THE NEW REGIME HAD BECOME INEVITABLE BECAUSE OF WHOLLY UNDERSTANDABLE AFRICAN DISTRUST OF MR. SMITH'S TATTERED MOTIVES. THE RICHARD PLAN, ADAPTING KISSINGER ONLY ENOUGH TO MAKE IT WORK, WAS A GOOD ONE. AND SO YET ANOTHER POSSIBLE MEANS OF ESCAPE FROM BLOODSHED HAS BEEN BOARDED UP.

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IF THIS IS INDEED THE END OF THE RICHARD MISSION THE CONSEQUENCES COULD BE AS CALAMITOUS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA AS MR. CROSLAND YESTERDAY FEARED. THE MISSION HAD ALREADY BEEN PREJUDICED BY THE DECISION OF THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS TO SUPPORT ONLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (MR. NKOMO AND MR. MUGABE) AND NOT TO RECOGNIZE THE BISHOP'S PARTY AS NEGOTIATORS AT GENEVA. THE FRONT UNDOUBTEDLY HAS THE TROOPS, BUT THE BISHOP UNDOUBTEDLY HAS THE SUPPORT INSIDE RHODESIA. BUT THE PRESIDENTS HAD TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE REALPOLITIK. WITHOUT THE GUERRILLAS ON HIS FRONTIER, AND THE THREAT OF CUBANS OR OTHERS TO AUGMENT THEM, MR. SMITH WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN LED TO GENEVA. THAT SUCH A POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SITUATION WAS ALLOWED TO GROW IS THE FAULT OF MR. SMITH'S TEAM IN REJECTING REASONABLE TERMS OFFERED BY MR. NKOMO A YEAR AGO. THAT. EVEN MORE THAN DR. KISSINGER'S JOURNEY, NOW SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE TURNING POINT.

WHAT, THEN, HAS NOW BECOME OF THE "PRESSURE" WHICH SOUTH AFRICA WAS SUPPOSED TO EXERT ON MR. SMITH? HAD

NOT MR. VORSTER BEEN LINED UP? WERE THE RAIL LINKS NOT
READY TO BE "CONGESTED"? NO ONE CAN BE SURE WHAT MR.
VORSTER'S AIMS ARE IN RHODESIA OR, IF THEY WERE KNOWN,

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WHETHER HIS ELECTORATE WOULD ALLOW HIM TO PURSUE THEM.
BUT THE CONGESTION TECHNIQUE CANNOT BE APPLIED WITHOUT
SERIOUS INJURY TO ZAMBIA AND ZAIRE, WHOSE RAIL LINKS RUN
THROUGH RHODESIA TO EAST LONDON. PRETORIA CANNOT WISH TO
SEE THOSE REGIMES TOPPLED FOR THE DOUBTFUL GAIN OF
DENYING ARMS AND SUPPLIES TO MR. SMITH. RHODESIA'S
GREATEST ASSET IS ITS POSITION ASTRIDE THE LINE OF RAIL.
IF, AS RHODESIANS HAVE DONE FOR 10 YEARS, YOU LIVE FROM
DAY TO DAY, THIS STRANGLEHOLD MAY SEEM WORTH EXPLOITING.
BUT IT IS NOT DAY-TO-DAY RHODESIA WHICH IS NOW IN QUES-
TION BUT THE LONG-TERM FUTURE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE
COLLAPSE OF YET ANOTHER PAINSTAKING ATTEMPT AT SETTLEMENT
HASTENS AND MAGNIFIES THE PROSPECT OF WAR. WHETHER
RHODESIA'S TIME-LIMIT IS THREE MONTHS OR THREE YEARS MAKES

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LITTLE DIFFERENCE TO THE UGLY END WHICH AGAIN LOOKS UN-AVOIDABLE."

3. THE FINANCIAL TIMES EDITORIAL: "IN REJECTING THE PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY MR. IVOR RICHARD, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON THE FUTURE OF RHODESIA, MR. IAN SMITH'S GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN A FATEFUL DECISION WHICH IS LIKELY TO BE HEAVY WITH CONSEQUENCES, NOT MERELY FOR RHODESIA ITSELF, BUT ALSO FOR THE REST OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. ONE CANNOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A CHANGE OF MIND, ON THE PART EITHER OF THE WHITE RHODESIANS OR OF THE BLACK DELEGATIONS, WHICH COULD LEAD TO A NEW SET OF NEGOTIATIONS AT SOME FUTURE DATE. BUT IT NOW LOOKS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THE ADJOURNED GENEVA CONFERENCE WILL BE RECONVENED IN ITS PRESENT FORM. THE GLEAM OF HOPE THAT THE RHODESIA PROBLEM MIGHT BE SETTLED THROUGH A PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED TRANSFER OF POWER, WHICH UNEXPECTEDLY FLICKERED TO LIFE LAST AUTUMN, HAS FADED AGAIN.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE WHAT LONG-TERM ADVANTAGE MR. SMITH CAN BELIEVE HE HAS GAINED BY REJECTING THE BRITISH PROPOSALS. IT MAY WELL BE THAT THEY GIVE RATHER MORE WEIGHT TO THE DEMANDS OF THE BLACK DELEGATIONS THAN THE SO-CALLED KISSINGER PLAN WHICH MR. SMITH PUBLICLY ACCEPTED LAST SEPTEMBER. BUT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A NEGOTIATION WHICH WAS NOT ABOUT THE PRINCIPLE OF A MOVE TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE, BUT ABOUT THE METHOD OF MANAGING THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SETS OF PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT REASONABLY BE REGARDED AS FUNDAMENTAL. HAVING PUBLICLY ACCEPTED THE KISSINGER PLAN, MR. SMITH MAY FEEL HIS POSITION IS MORALLY UNASSAILABLE IF HE NOW REJECTS THE LESS ATTRACTIVE RICHARD PLAN; BUT THAT WILL NOT STRENGTHEN HIS CHANCES OF RESUMING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE KISSINGER PLAN.

FOR ONE THING, THE FOUR BLACK DELEGATIONS HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME BEEN QUITE DEEPLY DIVIDED OVER THE PRO-
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CEDURES FOR A TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE, AND THE TENTATIVE AGREEMENT HAMMERED OUT BETWEEN THEM AND THE FIVE PRESIDENTS OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES WILL BE DIFFICULT. IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, TO RE-FORGE ON THE BASIS OF A RETURN TO THE KISSINGER PLAN. FOR ANOTHER, THE RIGIDITY SHOWN BY THE SALISBURY REGIME IN WHAT IS, AFTER ALL, A NEGOTIATION

TIATION CAN EXPOSE IT TO THE CHARGE THAT IT WAS DELIBER-
ATELY AIMING AT A BREAKDOWN ALL ALONG; AND IT IS A CHARGE
WHICH GAINS IN CREDIBILITY FROM THE FACT THAT MR. SMITH
NOW APPEARS TO BE SEEKING A SEPARATE SET OF NEGOTIATIONS
WITH PARTNERS OF HIS CHOICE, THAT IS, ONLY WITH THE MOST
"MODERATE" AND MALLEABLE OF BLACK RHODESIAN LEADERS.
EVEN IF HE SHOULD SUCCEED IN OPENING INDEPENDENT
NEGOTIATIONS, IT IS FAR FROM CLEAR THAT THEY COULD LEAD
TO MEANINGFUL CONCLUSIONS. BISHOP ABEL MUZOREWA HAS A
SUBSTANTIAL POPULAR FOLLOWING INSIDE JWWDESIA, BUT SINCE
HE DOES NOT HAVE DIRECT CONTROL OVER THE GUERRILLA FORCES,
AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN HIM AND THE SMITH GOVERNMENT CANNOT
BE COUNTED ON TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO THE GUERRILLA
WAR. AND WITHOUT THE PROSPECT OF AN END TO THIS WAR--
WHICH IN PRACTICE MEANS A SETTLEMENT AGREED WITH THE
GUERRILLA LEADERS AND ENDORSED BY THE FRONT-LINE PRESI-
DENTS--THE OUTLOOK FOR RHODESIA IS BLEAK INDEED.
SO FAR THE GUERRILLA WAR HAS NOT INFLICTED MAJOR LOSS
OF LIFE ON THE WHITE RHODESIAN POPULATION--FAR LESS, IN-
DEED, THAN ON THE GUERRILLAS THEMSELVES. BUT THE RHO-
DESIAN GOVERNMENT IS UNDER INCREASINGLY HEAVY PRESSURE
FROM A WAR WHICH IT IS NOW HAVING TO FIGHT ON FOUR FRONTS,
AND THE COST, BOTH ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL, OF MAIN-
TAINING A MINIMAL DEGREE OF SECURITY AGAINST GUERRILLA
ATTACKS MUST BECOME PROGRESSIVELY MORE FORMIDABLE. THE
BREAKDOWN OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS MAKES IT LIKELY THAT
THE INTENSITY OF THE ATTACKS WILL BE STEPPED UP, AND LEAD
TO A HEAVIER AND HEAVIER DRAIN OF MANPOWER AWAY FROM

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ECONOMICALLY PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES INTO A WAR WHICH CAN-
NOT ULTIMATELY BE WON.

WITH THE FAILURE OF THE RICHARD MISSION, THE ONLY MAN
WHO CAN NOW BRING MR. SMITH BACK TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE
IS MR. JOHANNES VORSTER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER,
SINCE HIS GOVERNMENT COULD EXERT A STRANGLEHOLD ON
RHODESIA'S MAJOR SUPPLY LINES. MR. SMITH MAY BELIEVE THAT
BY STICKING CONSISTENTLY IF RIGIDLY TO THE KISSINGER
PACKAGE, HE CAN ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF WHITE SOUTH
AFRICAN OPINION; HE MAY EVEN BELIEVE THAT SOUTH AFRICA
MIGHT LEND HIM MILITARY SUPPORT. ONE CANNOT, OF COURSE,
RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A RUSH OF SYMPATHY AMONG
WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS FOR THEIR RHODESIAN NEIGHBORS, THOUGH
IT WOULD SEEM TO BE IRRATIONAL OF MR. VORSTER TO ADD THE
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PROBLEMS OF A GUERRILLA WAR IN RHODESIA TO THE ALREADY
SERIOUS DOMESTIC POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES INSIDE SOUTH
AFRICA. BUT WHATEVER MR. SMITH'S HOPES, IT IS DIFFICULT
TO IMAGINE THAT THEY WILL PROTECT HIM FROM THE CONSE-
QUENCES OF REFUSING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT."

4. THE TIMES EDITORIAL: "MR. IAN SMITH'S REJECTION OF
THE PROPOSALS MR. RICHARD PUT BEFORE HIM FOR FURTHER NE-
GOTIATION IN GENEVA TAKES THE RHODESIAN SITUATION NEARLY
BACK TO LAST AUGUST. ALL THAT REMAINS OF THE KISSINGER
SHUTTLE AND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS THAT THE SMITH RE-
GIME IS COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE,
WHICH WAS HAILED IN SEPTEMBER AS AN IRREVERSIBLE STEP,
AND THAT THE BLACK AFRICAN STATES HAVE PLUMPED FOR MR.
MUGABE AND MR. NKOMO'S "PATRIOTIC FRONT" WITH ITS
GUERRILLA WING, AS THE ONLY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RHO-
DESIAN AFRICANS.

MR. SMITH HAS NOT BUDGED SINCE SEPTEMBER 24. HIS POSITION--HIS OFFER--IS THE SAME: EITHER THE KISSINGER PACKAGE--WITH THE RHODESIAN FRONT IN CHARGE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND OF SECURITY, SANCTIONS OFF AND COMPENSATION IN THE OFFING--OR HE RETURNS TO HIS OWN SERPENTINE EFFORTS TO MAKE POWER-SHARING ARRANGEMENTS WITH SOME SORT OF BLACK GROUPING INSIDE RHODESIA; TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT. HE SHOWS IMMENSE SELF CONFIDENCE IN HIS INTRANSIGENCE, FOR HE MUST KNOW THAT A MIGHTY CRY WILL NOW GO UP IN THE AFRICAN WORLD AND IN THE UNITED NATIONS FOR AN ALL-OUT JIHAD TO DESTROY WHITE RHODESIA. IN OCTOBER IT WAS DOUBTED WHETHER HE WOULD RISK SUCH A CHALLENGE BECAUSE HIS MILITARY AND LOGISTICAL SITUATION WAS REPORTED SO PRECARIOUS--AND BECAUSE HE AND THE RHODESIA FRONT WERE STILL REELING FROM THE BLOW OF BEING TREATED BY MR. VORSTER AND DR. KISSINGER MUCH AS HITLER TREATED SCHUSNIGG OF AUSTRIA. PRECARIOUS, IN THE LONG RUN HOPELESS, THE OUTLOOK FOR WHITE RHODESIA REMAINS, BUT IT IS TO BE NOTICED THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

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SEASON FAVORABLE TO GUERRILLA OPERATIONS HAS COME AND NEARLY GONE, YET THE GUERRILLAS HAVE HAD NO SIGNAL SUCCESSES. THE STRAIN ON THE RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES (WHITE AND BLACK) CONTINUES, BUT THE GUERRILLAS HAVE NOT DEMONSTRATED THAT ANY PERIOD HAS BEEN SET TO THE WHITE FORCES CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY. IT MAY BE THAT DURING NEGOTIATIONS THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS REQUESTED THEM TO HOLD BACK LEST TERRORISM STIFFENED WHITE RESISTANCE, BUT IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT A GUERRILLA SUCCESS WOULD HAVE BEEN WELCOME, AND MIGHT INDEED HAVE TIPPED THE SCALES IN FAVOR OF SOME SUCH "SURRENDER" AS MR. RICHARD OFFERED MR. SMITH THIS WEEK.

ON THE OTHER HAND MR. SMITH'S DIPLOMATIC POSITION HAS MUCH IMPROVED. NOT ONLY HAS HE BEEN RELEASED FROM SUCH PRESSURE AS WOULD LEAVE HIM WITH NO OPTION BUT TO ACCEPT THE RICHARD PROPOSALS, BUT THE WHOLE MACHINERY OF PRESSURE REPRESENTED BY THE ACCORD BETWEEN DR. KISSINGER AND MR. VORSTER HAS BEEN DISMANTLED. AND IT IS UNLIKELY, HE CAN READILY PERCEIVE, TO BE EASILY RECONSTITUTED. BEFORE HE BECAME PRESIDENT, MR. JIMMY CARTER CAME OUT, IN ACCORD WITH HIS ELECTORAL POSITION, WHOLEHEARTEDLY FOR DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY RULE--BLACK GOVERNMENTS--THROUGHOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA. THIS MEANS THAT HE HAS NOTHING MUCH TO OFFER MR. VORSTER IN EXCHANGE FOR SACRIFICING THE RHODESIANS--A CARD DR. KISSINGER KEPT IN HIS HAND FOR WHAT IT WAS WORTH. IN HIS DIPLOMACY THE PROSPECT THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD REGARD SOUTH AFRICA AS "DIFFERENT" IN ITS EVOLUTION TOWARDS RACIAL JUSTICE AS DISTINCT FROM RHODESIA OR NAMIBIA WAS PRESERVED. NOW MR. VORSTER SEEMS

TO HAVE TO CHOOSE ONLY BETWEEN BLACK RULE AND WAR WITH
THE MARXISTS. DR. KISSINGER IS ALSO BELIEVED TO HAVE
THREATENED A CONCERTED OIL EMBARGO. BUT MR. CARTER IN-
DICATED IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS THAT HIS ADMINISTRATION
WOULD AVOID INITIATIVES TO ENFORCE CHANGE UNILATERALLY IN

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THE WORLD, SO THAT ANY SUCH FORCEFUL UNDERCOVER DIPLOMACY
IS RULED OUT. HE HAS THROWN AWAY BOTH STICK AND CARROT.
THERE IS THUS NO REASON NOW WHY THE SOUTH AFRICANS
SHOULD NOT GIVE THE RHODESIANS THE MINIMUM SUPPORT--FUEL
AND AMMUNITION--TO ENABLE THEM TO FIGHT ON. IF THE
RHODESIANS, NEVERTHELESS, LOSE SOON, SOUTH AFRICA IS NO

WORSE OFF, AND IF THEY HANG ON, IT IS BETTER OFF. SOUTH AFRICA HAS ALREADY INDICATED THAT IT INTENDS TO HOLD THE RING: IF THE CUBANS WERE NOW PUT INTO THE SCALES, THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD RECONSIDER THEIR OWN POSITION ON KEEPING THEIR PARAMILITARY OR MILITARY FORCES OUT OF THE FIGHT. MR. SMITH HAS THUS RETRIEVED THE GUARANTEE AGAINST OVERWHELMING FORCE THAT HE SEEMED TO HAVE LOST IN SEPTEMBER.

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IT IS DIFFICULT TO AVOID THE CONCLUSION THAT, FOR THE MOMENT, HE HAS ONCE AGAIN COME OUT THE VICTOR IN THE LATEST ATTEMPT TO REPLACE HIM WITH BLACK RULE. HIS POSITION WITH HIS PARTY WILL HAVE BEEN CONSOLIDATED. HITHERTO, HE HAS LARGELY ACHIEVED HIS SUCCESSES BY PLAYING FOR TIME, AND SO IT HAS PROVED ONCE MORE. BUT ON THIS OCCASION THE BLAME CAN BE PLACED ON AFRICAN MISMANAGEMENT. BY FAILING TO PRESENT A UNITED FRONT IN GENEVA THEY GAVE THE SMITH REGIME TIME TO RECOVER FROM THE SEPTEMBER SHOCK. BY ARGUING WITH MR. RICHARD--CONSUMING WEEKS ON THE STERILE QUESTION OF THE LENGTH OF THE INTERIM PERIOD--THEY PERSUADED THEMSELVES THAT THE WHILE RHODESIANS WERE ON THE RUN. THEY NEVER GOT TO GRIPS WITH MR. SMITH, BUT USEFULLY DEMONSTRATED TO HIM THEIR POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND IRRECONCILABLE PERSONAL RIVALRIES IN PURSUIT OF FRUIT STILL GREEN ON THE TREE. AT THE END OF THE DAY, EVERY INCENTIVE HAS BEEN GIVEN TO MR. SMITH AND BISHOP MUZOREWA TO MAKE AN EXCLUSIVE DEAL, THOUGH THAT IS NOT TO SAY IT WILL HAPPEN. BUT IF THE GUERRILLAS MAKE NO BETTER SHOWING (OTHER THAN IN WANTON TERRORIZATION) SUCH A DEAL IS NOT TOTALLY RULED OUT. THUS, ONCE AGAIN, MR. SMITH HAS GOT WHAT HE HAS ALWAYS WORKED FOR (AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE WARNED DR. KISSINGER HE WOULD WORK FOR) TIME TO MANEUVER. HAD THE AFRICANS GOT TO BUSINESS WITH SMITH LAST OCTOBER, THE RESULT MIGHT BE DIFFERENT. MR. RICHARD IS RIGHT IN CALLING THE RESULT A TRAGEDY. IT IS AT LEAST SATISFACTORY THAT BRITAIN, WHICH LOOKED LIKE BEING FORCED INTO ONEROUS COMMITMENTS OUT OF A SENSE OF DUTY, COMES OUT WITH AN HONEST RECORD. BUT WILL THE WORLD RECOGNIZE IT?"

5. THE DAILY TELEGRAPH EDITORIAL: "MR. IVOR RICHARD HAS DONE WHAT MANY PEOPLE SUSPECTED ALL ALONG WAS THE REAL OBJECT OF HIS LATEST AFRICAN TOUR--PIN THE BLAME FOR A BREAKDOWN IN THE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT TALKS SQUARELY (BUT

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NOT FAIRLY) ON MR. SMITH. IN FACT, BLAME FOR THE BREAK-DOWN LIES WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. AS WE POINTED OUT IN THESE COLUMNS YESTERDAY, IT IS DISSENSION BETWEEN AFRICANS ABOUT THE FUTURE LEADERSHIP OF RHODESIA, AFTER INDEPENDENCE, NOT THE INTRANSIGENCE OF MR. SMITH, WHICH IS THE STUMBLING BLOCK. BY CONCENTRATING ENTIRELY ON AFRICAN OPINION OUTSIDE RHODESIA (THE FIVX RESIDENTS PLUS GUERRILLA "LEADERS"), AND IGNORING OPINION INSIDE THE COUNTRY (BOTH BLACK AND WHITE), MR. RICHARD WAS IN EFFECT GUARANTEEING THAT THE WHOLE BOGUS PROCESS WHICH HE STARTED IN GENEVA WOULD GRIND TO A HALT SOONER OR LATER. NOW IT HAS DONE SO.

IN TALKING ABOUT THE KISSINGER "PACKAGE" ACCEPTED BY MR. SMITH LAST SEPTEMBER, TOO MANY PEOPLE, IN PARTICULAR MR. RICHARD, CHOOSE TO IGNORE ITS MOST IMPORTANT PROMISE-- MAJORITY RULE FOR RHODESIA WITHIN TWO YEARS. GRANTED THAT ALL-IMPORTANT CONCESSION, IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT MR. SMITH AND OTHER WHITES IN RHODESIA WOULD INSIST ON LEADING ROLES DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THIS WAS ALLOWED FOR IN THE PACKAGE. THE BRITISH PROPOSALS TOUTED ROUND BY MR. RICHARD HAVE BEEN REJECTED BY MR. SMITH BECAUSE THEY MAKE NO SUCH ALLOWANCE. MR. CROSLAND YESTERDAY APPEALED TO MR. SMITH "NOT TO CLOSE THE DOOR IRREVOCABLY." BUT MR. SMITH HAS CLOSED NO DOOR EXCEPT THE ONE WHICH WOULD LEAD TO "CHAOS." THE DOOR TO REFORM IS OPEN, AND IT IS HE, NOT MR. RICHARD, WHO LOOKS LIKELY TO GO THROUGH IT."

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